

Message Text

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ACTION EA-10

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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

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INFO COMUSJAPAN YOKOTA, JAPAN

CINCPAC HONOLULU HAWAII

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 7495

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, JA

SUBJ: GOJ STATEMENTS ON DEFENSE SHARING

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

REF: TOKYO 4245

SUMMARY: THE GOJ, LED BY JDA DIRECTOR GENERAL SAKATA, IS CONTINUING TO PUBLICLY STRESS THE NEED FOR DETAILED DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS WITH THE U.S. THESE STATEMENTS HAVE NOT YET CREATED NOTICEABLE ADVERSE REACTION. END SUMMARY

1. ON MAY 29, PM MIKI MET WITH JDA LEADERS INCLUDING SAKATA AND JCS CHAIRMAN SHINAKAWA TO DISCUSS JAPAN'S SECURITY POSTURE IN THE POST-VIETNAM WAR ERA.

2. ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS, THERE WAS AGREEMENT THAT WHILE THE PRESENT BALANCE OF POWER BETWEEN THE US, USSR, AND PRC IN ASIA WOULD PROBABLY PREVENT ANY MAJOR OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITY, THE MST CONTINUES TO BE OF CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE TO JAPAN'S SECURITY. IN LIGHT OF THIS, SAKATA AND MIKI REPORTEDLY DECIDED THAT IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO REACH AN AGREEMENT WITH THE U.S. CLARIFYING WHAT SHARE OF RESPONSIBILITY
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EACH COUNTRY WOULD TAKE IN A FUTURE EMERGENCY INVOLVING

JAPAN'S DEFENSE.

3. SAKATA AND DEFENSE BUREAU DIRECTOR GENERAL MARUYAMA FURTHER DEVELOPED THIS IDEA IN THE DIET ON JUNE 3. MARUYAMA STATED THAT IT IS "NECESSARY TO ESTABLISH A CO-ORDINATION ORGAN FOR CONDUCTING OFFICIAL CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN JAPANESE AND US AUTHORITIES CONCERNED IN THE FIELD OF DETAILED MILITARY OPERATIONS". THE JDA OFFICIALS EXPRESSED PARTICULAR INTEREST IN CONSULTATIONS ON AIR DEFENSE, ASW MEASURES, AND THE ROLE OF USFJ BASES IN JAPAN'S DEFENSE. MARUYAMA NOTED THAT BOTH SIDES HAD COOPERATED ON STAFF STUDIES, BUT THAT THESE DID NOT PROVIDE AN ACUTUAL BASIS FOR JOINT DEFENSE ACTIVITY.

4. AT THE SAME TIME, SAKATA AND MARUYAMA INDICATED THEIR AWARENESS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL LIMITATIONS ON SDF CAPABILITIES AND MISSIONS ("DEFENSE FOR THE EXCLUSIVE SAKE OF DEFENSE"), THUS REFUTING A JSP CHARGE THAT A DEFENSE-SHARING AGREEMENT WOULD INCORPORATE THE SDF INTO US STRATEGIC PLANS. MARUYAMA SPECIFICALLY DENIED THAT THERE WAS ANY INTENTION OF ZONING SEA LANES IN WATERS NEAR JAPAN FOR ASSIGNED DEFENSE BY U.S. OR JAPANESE FORCES.

5. COMMENT: SAKATA'S PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF A DEFENSE-SHARING AGREEMENT REFLECTS TWO PARALLEL THEMES IN RECENT JDA PRONOUNCEMENTS: (A) THE NEED TO REAFFIRM AND CLARIFY JAPAN'S FUNDAMENTAL RELATIONSHIP WITH U.S. FORCES; AND (B) SAKATA'S DESIRE TO BROADEN PUBLIC AWARENESS OF DEFENSE MATTERS, HOPEFULLY TO GAIN UNDERSTANDING AND APPROVAL FOR THE SDF'S CONTINUED DEVELOPMENT.

6. SO FAR, REACTION TO SAKATA'S STATEMENTS HAS BEEN QUITE MODERATE IN TONE. THIS MAY PARTLY BE DUE TO THE MORE GENERAL CONCERN WITH SECURITY ISSUES THAT HAS ARISEN FROM EVENTS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. IT ALSO REFLECTS SAKATA'S OWN FINESSE IN EXPLORING POTENTIALLY CONTROVERSIAL TOPICS IN DEFENSE MATTERS WHILE CAREFULLY ADHERING TO SUCH SACRED COWS AS CIVILIAN CONTROL AND ONE PERCENT OF GNP CEILING ON DEFENSE SPENDING. FINALLY, THE MIKI GOVERNMENT AS A WHOLE--AND OLD-LINE "DOVE" SAKATA IN PARTICULAR--HAS BEEN RELATIVELY SAFE FROM CHARGES OF REACTIONARY MILITARISM.

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7. SAKATA HAS ALSO SPOKEN PUBLICLY OF HIS DESIRE TO DISCUSS THESE MATTERS WITH SECDEF, HERE OR IN WASHINGTON. JDA STAFF MEMBERS EXPECT DEFENSE PLANNING TO BE THE CENTRAL TOPIC IN SUCH A MEETING AND THIS WOULD BE IN LINE WITH THE APPROACH REPORTED REFTEL. FONOFF SOURCES VOUCH FOR SAKATA'S SERIOUSNESS IN THESE EFFORTS AND TALK OF POSSIBLE MEETING WITH SECDEF IN NOVEMBER--EITHER HERE OR IN WASHINGTON--AFTER MIKI VISIT,

EMPEROR'S VISIT, AND POSSIBLY PUBLICATION OF DEFENSE WHITE
PAPER WHOSE PREPARATION SAKATA HAS ORDERED.
HODGSON

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